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ABSTRACT

These guidelines were developed for evaluating school resource materials to determine whether they are fair and equitable to the indigenous peoples of Saskatchewan. The document opens with a discussion of terms relating to indigenous peoples and briefly examines what the terms can mean in different contexts. The guidelines consists of 68 specific questions emphasizing the importance of cultural diversity, cultural identity, and cultural interaction. Each question is followed by a statement explaining the element of indigenous culture to which the question applies. The questions are categorized under eight topics: (1) general questions for all resources; (2) portrayal of cultural interactions; (3) portrayal of traditions and institutions; (4) portrayal of identity; (5) use of language; (6) use of visuals; (7) literature; and (8) oral literature (songs, poems, and stories). The questions can be used exclusively by evaluators, including teachers, or in cooperation with elementary and secondary students. The document includes 14 references. (TES)

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Saskatchewan Education

Diverse Voices

Selecting Equitable Resources for Indian and Métis Education

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April 1992

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Diverse Voices

Selecting Equitable Resources for Indian and Métis Education

Saskatchewan Education
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Table of Contents

The Need for Guidelines 1
How to Use These Guidelines 2
The Use of Terms 3

General Questions 5

Portrayal of Cultural Interactions 7

Portrayal of Traditions and Institutions 10

Portrayal of Identity 12

Use of Language 15

Use of Visuals 17

Literature 19
Oral Literature 20

References 22

The Need for Guidelines

The Goals of Education for Saskatchewan state the importance of understanding and relating to others. Students should interact and feel comfortable with others who are different in race, religion, status, or personal attributes (*Directions*, 1984). Various groups of people have been the object of negative images through biased representation over time. Inappropriate terms, inaccurate interpretation of traditions, institutions and achievements, and the use of language generally have contributed to these images. Indian and Métis peoples have long been associated with prejudicial thinking and stereotyped images in learning resources.

It is recognized that a pre-contact Indigenous perspective should be the backdrop against which current forms of bias are explained. This would ensure that the integrity of the Indigenous world view would have a clear, immediate presence throughout the document. However, this approach would presume a great deal of knowledge about complex issues that are not readily understood nor always accessible to the average reader. For this reason, the starting point in this document is primarily Eurocentric, while the Indigenous perspective is reflected largely in the explanatory responses provided with each question.

Different forms of bias occurring over time in resources have been identified. These include:

- **invisibility/omission** — some groups may be rarely seen, or not seen at all
- **stereotyping** — use of pared down, simplified images and attributes
- **imbalance** — one-sided interpretation of issues or situations
- **unreality** — avoidance of in-depth analyses of situations and circumstances in life
- **fragmentation/isolation** — treatment of gender, age, and cultural differences as separate, add on information
- **linguistic bias** — language that patronizes or ignores disability, age and gender differences, and cultural diversity.

All students are influenced by what they read and what they see. The interactions they observe and in which they participate shape their attitudes. An individual's perceptions may become distorted to the point that myths and stereotypes are accepted as reality. Students who are constantly exposed to, and come to accept, perceptions of themselves as "inferior" and their cultures as "uncivilized" or "primitive" may suffer psychological scars

that undermine their personal development. Conversely, students who come to believe that certain peoples are incapable of participating fully in a "civilized" world may develop an unrealistic sense of superiority that may be psychologically damaging. Students who are actively taught to identify bias in resources and to examine its effect on their thinking, will learn to understand all individuals and groups. They may then transfer their understandings to other areas.

How to Use These Guidelines

The intent of *Diverse Voices: Selecting Equitable Resources for Indian and Métis Education* is to create awareness and understanding of the potential bias in resources with respect to Indigenous peoples. The questions posed challenge the perspective of the reader. Teacher-librarians, teachers, students, and others can begin a critical evaluation of materials in the schools by using these guidelines. Responsibility to make resource evaluation a practice among all students from kindergarten to grade 12 rests with teachers. It is essential to the development of critical thinking that evaluators recognize their personal biases and the bias in resources.

Young students can take part in discussions by using the terms "fair" and "unfair," while older students can use the checklists in each section directly. The teacher should record and display younger students' comments and observations. It is suggested that a process be established and practised by teachers before beginning work with students. Each checklist should be used several times to ensure recognition of personal bias. If one is uncertain about a point that is made in a work, it should be noted and returned to later. If doubt continues, one might consult peers, or professional resources.

The points raised in each section need not apply in their entirety to a single work. To increase awareness and understanding for the evaluator, a bibliography of reference materials is provided at the end of this document. Written records of all evaluations conducted should be kept regarding who evaluated each resource and on what date. These records are important for future consultation by students and teachers.

It is important that all evaluation of resources occur within the framework of resources selection policy developed by the school division. This policy will articulate roles, selection criteria, and an appeal process to be used in the development of the resource collection.

This booklet is divided into separate sections dealing with achievements, traditions, cultural identity, language, visuals, and literature. Each section includes specific questions to ask about a resource. In addition, there are general questions that should be asked about any instructional resource to assess whether it is fair and equitable.

The Use of Terms

The ways in which a people are referred to determine how they are perceived by others. Use of specific terms over time can create a mindset which will either support or detract from the way a people wish to be perceived.

Umbrella terms such as "Indians" and "Natives," when used inappropriately, imply that Indigenous peoples of the Americas are the same culturally, politically, and historically. On the other hand, using terms which specify national origins and political and legal status, supports the concept of diversity and continuing presence in contemporary times.

Terms evolve and may vary in location and in specific situations. People may refer to themselves collectively using terms of common usage that have not originated in their cultural heritage. Terms that reflect how people think of themselves in different contexts and in their languages, are evolving. It is important to determine the appropriate, contemporary terminology used in each area. People in the local community are often the best judge of what terms apply and when.

Commonly used terms in Saskatchewan are: Cree, Assiniboine, Saulteaux, Dene, Dakota Sioux, and Métis. These terms differ in their original languages; however, the English equivalents are widely used. Other terms such as "Indians" and "bands" are used extensively for specific (often legal and bureaucratic) meanings, and are used inter-governmentally. First Nations is a term used by the Assembly of First Nations, a national body, as well as others, as an all inclusive term.

The term "Aboriginal peoples" grew out of the European common law concept of Aboriginal rights. In this meaning, original peoples are said to have Aboriginal title only to the lands they occupy. This somewhat narrow, legalistic definition of land ownership became the basis for land disentitlement during the settlement period. In a less formal sense, the term "Aboriginal peoples" is sometimes used to refer to all peoples who are the descendants of the original peoples of the land. This term, however, would not be suitable for contexts which imply people with treaty status. The term "Indian" is preferred. "Indigenous peoples" is a term that is used when an all inclusive term for an international context is required.

The following is a brief overview of evolving terms. It will serve to point out some of the difficulties encountered by Indian and Métis peoples and writers whenever important points are being put forward or analyzed. For example, umbrella terms such as Native, Indigenous, and Aboriginal are useful but they can blot out important distinctions when overused. As well, different terms can refer to a single people. This occurs when terms from the different Indian and Métis languages as well as French and English are used. It also depends on the context. In the same instance, a single term can seem to suggest a single group of people when, in fact, many groups are involved. Such terms can include cultural and legal meanings as well.

What terms can mean in different contexts:

Indian peoples
A general term standing for all peoples of the Americas who have resided here since time immemorial. For purposes of broad legal administration, the Inuit are sometimes referred to as Indians. Generally, its informal use is equivalent to the term European peoples.

Indian
Represents the singular form of the term in the sense of European. This is also a legal term defined in the *Indian Act*.

Amerindians, Native Canadians, Native Americans
Terms that serve a general purpose. The focus is geographic.

Nakota
Historically, a single people which includes the **Sioux**, the **Assiniboine** and the **Stoney**. The **Dakota** and **Lakota** are the same people but speak their mother tongue with either the D or L dialect.

Métis
People of mixed origin of Indian and European background. The term can refer to nationhood or culture or both depending on the context. Some groups prefer the term **Metisse**.

Blackfoot
A general term for the **Sarcee, Siksika** and the **Peigan,** also known as the **Pikuni.**

Anishnabe, Dene and **Atsina**
Examples of the Indian language terms that people call themselves for the substitute terms **Ojibwa, Chipewyan, Chipewa** and **Gros Ventre** that others call them.

Inuit
The term that has replaced **Eskimo. Inuk** is its singular form.

Note: These are but a few of the terms that are used in different contexts and for different purposes.

General Questions

1. **Do the illustrations and text contain over-generalizations about groups?** For example, the term "Plains Indians" refers to specific nations such as Cree, Dakota, Nakota, and others to denote distinctiveness.

2. **Are certain groups invisible?** For example, the Plains Cree and the Woodland Cree are two distinct groups.

3. **Does the resource represent Eurocentric viewpoints only?** Indigenous authors, artists and Elders express Indigenous viewpoints often more fully.

4. **Are realistic life experiences portrayed?** Controversial topics are too often ignored and discussions about racism, for example, unnecessarily avoided.

5. **Is information by and about Indigenous peoples fully integrated?** Information about Indigenous peoples is sometimes separated and condensed as supplementary knowledge in one or two chapters.

6. **Does the resource contain contemporary and accurate information about nation groups and their situations today?** Many resources suggest Indigenous peoples and cultures exist only in the past. Both glossary and text should demonstrate that Indigenous peoples exist today.

7. **Are capital letters used on terms like Indigenous peoples and Aboriginal peoples?** Terms such as "Native peoples" should be capitalized. The plural "s" in the word "peoples" underlines the numbers of diverse First Nations.

_____ 8. **Does the resource contain information about how, and by whom, the research was gathered and does it possess a bibliography which lists reputable sources?** The bibliography should contain credible research and resources.

_____ 9. **Does the index list Indigenous peoples as distinct nation groups?** Overuse of umbrella terms obscures these distinctions.

_____ 10. **Are clear distinctions made between contemporary and historical quotes and artistic works?** Parallel use of time frames and related settings forestalls the impression of having to reach back in time whenever Indian and Métis peoples are discussed.

_____ 11. **Is this part of a series of resources that accurately portray Indigenous peoples throughout?** Often only one or two materials from a series is creditable for the resource collection.

_____ 12. **Are Indigenous visuals, artistic aspects, and dress appropriated?** The integrity of a people's history, identity, and culture can be distorted or even lost when aspects of regional uniqueness are borrowed for purposes other than their customary ones.

Portrayal of Cultural Interactions

Canadian society is made up of diverse peoples with a variety of cultural backgrounds. Each group has a unique way of learning about and dealing with daily life. Individuals may vary in levels of awareness of their own, and adopted cultural perspectives. All groups influence one another to a greater or lesser degree.

A society is based on the interdependence of different groups. Their accomplishments, though unique, rarely occur in isolation. These are often the result of many factors, including interaction with others. All peoples' achievements should be considered from the point of view of exchange and interaction. The context within which achievements are defined can alter perception of their true significance.

_____ 1. **Are items such as the snowshoe, canoe, and the kayak recognized as advanced technologies that even in contemporary times require no improvement?** Some works describe these only in terms of their past usefulness failing to recognize that such technologies are ideal also for contemporary time.

_____ 2. **Are crops such as maize and tobacco included in the many hybrid crops in the field of horticulture?** These should be discussed in ways that relate their development to scientific thought.

_____ 3. **Are contributions to the world's foodstuffs rightfully attributed to early Indian farmers?** It should be made evident that many foods grown throughout the world were developed in what is now the Americas.

_____ 4. **Are the knowledge and use of natural products for medicinal purposes by the Indian peoples formally associated with the field of pharmacology?** Specialized knowledge and practices of Indian peoples are sometimes treated as though these exist apart from relevant fields of inquiry.

5. **Are refined drugs in use today seen as having been developed by Indian peoples with specialized, centuries-old health practices?** Sometimes an aura of mystery and remoteness is attached to descriptions of them.

6. **Do concepts found in modern psychotherapy and psychoanalysis compare positively to similar theories developed long ago by Indian peoples?** Dream analysis and the relationship of the mind and body to wellness, for example, were understood and practised by the Indian peoples in early times, and are still practised today.

7. **Are western theories about combatting disease through imagery compared favourably to traditional practices using similar techniques?** Works that describe these approaches as witchcraft and magic are inaccurate.

8. **Are the Indigenous peoples recognized as having provided important knowledge and information to explorers and settlers?** It should be apparent that original peoples were the guides, freighters, and provisioners for newcomers.

9. **Is credit given to the developers of the Mayan calendar, for example, or the concept of zero in relation to the field of mathematics and science?** Some areas of specialization are portrayed as having limited effect, then and now.

10. **Are creative works discussed in terms of their universal appeal and particular philosophy?** Works of art, drama, and music are sometimes described only in terms of exotic features, or from an ethnocentric perspective.

11. **Are works that have passed the test of time considered classics?** Some Indigenous forms are described in a clinical sense as artifacts representing ancient human activity rather than as objects of beauty for all peoples and time.

_____ 12. **Are the leaders seen as having stature and title alongside their European counterparts?** Individual men and women such as Tecumseh, Poundmaker, Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, Elijah Harper, Charlotte Small, Ethel Blondin, and Roberta Jamieson are also effective leaders and politicians.

_____ 13. **Are major consequences resulting from contact between Indigenous and European peoples absent, simplified, or presented as abbreviated histories?** Resources may not tell the story of land loss, hardship, and the struggle of Indigenous peoples to retain their identity and rights.

Portrayal of Traditions and Institutions

Formal structures developed by Indian and Métis peoples to aid social and cultural interaction are sometimes described inaccurately. Consider the following questions:

_____ 1. **Does the resource provide information about anthropological evidence of early inter-continental exchange?** A number of authors still believe that the original peoples led an isolated existence remote from all others, even in their own lands.

_____ 2. **Are the peace-keeping strategies developed by various Indian nations given their rightful due?** All nations develop mechanisms to conduct their affairs and settle their differences, often over wide ranging territories.

_____ 3. **Is consensus decision-making seen as a highly-developed form of government?** Consensus building used by Indian and Métis peoples is viewed, by some, as secondary to other mechanisms such as majority rule.

_____ 4. **Is the North American model of representative government described in relation to the models developed by Indigenous peoples?** The Constitution of the United States of America is founded on principles of democratic, representative government developed and practised by Indian nations through the centuries.

_____ 5. **Is the concept of the child as a sacred responsibility of all community members used to explain family life patterns?** Writers have sometimes described extended family behaviours as being dysfunctional.

_____ 6. **Are women portrayed as decision-makers within their communities?** Indian and Métis women have traditionally played a prominent role in addressing the concerns which affect the well-being of their societies.

_____ 7. **Is it evident that the early educational practices of Indian and Métis peoples demonstrate an understanding of the stages of intellectual, physical, and moral development relevant to learning readiness?** Some works imply that pedagogical thought was completely absent in the educational practices of these people. In the Dakota Sioux model, for example, formal education began at the age of two. It proceeded throughout the student's life in a series of seven year cycles in which history, ethics, spiritual knowledge, and life skills were studied.

_____ 8. **Is it recognized that Indian and Métis peoples continue to value a lifestyle based on caring for the Earth, so that its fragile balance is maintained for future generations?** Many works provide only the reminder that Indian peoples lived in harmony with nature, and do not relate their concept of custodianship to current ecological thought.

_____ 9. **Are the traditions and experiences of Indian and Métis peoples romanticized?** Ideas of primal innocence and terms such as *stoic* and *noble* trivialize those experiences universal to all peoples throughout time.

Portrayal of Identity

The identity of a people is often considered in terms of culture alone. In some instances, this approach may be both needed and appropriate. Indian and Métis peoples, however, have been described in terms of culture often to the exclusion of other aspects of identity. The wide range of legal, socio-political, and economic factors of identity tend to be underplayed in a great many works. Yet all elements of identity for First Nations peoples have persisted in depth and meaning over time.

_____ 1. **Are Indian and Métis peoples shown as continuing to have multicultural and multilingual societies?** Many works imply there is a single culture or language when, in reality, there is great diversity.

_____ 2. **Are the people presented as competent negotiators of agreements with other sovereign nations?** Some authors view the original peoples as naive participants, or helpless victims of processes thought unfamiliar to First Nations peoples.

_____ 3. **Are agreements, such as treaties, and similar contractual arrangements with Indigenous peoples seen as having a basis in international law?** Some writers present the view that such agreements imply only moral obligation.

_____ 4. **Are rights which derive from the treaties, such as education and health care, typecast as fair exchange for long term settlement of lands and resources?** The belief that these are free goods and services is incorrect since these are in exchange for lands and resources.

_____ 5. **Are treaties described in a manner that suggests they are binding on all signatories?** The term "Indian treaties" suggests that treaties belong, and hence apply, to Indian peoples only; when in fact, they apply equally to all signatories.

6. **Is the *Indian Act* accurately represented as originating with Canadian legislation?** The term, *Indian Act*, itself, may create the impression that it is an Indian owned document.

7. **Are Aboriginal governments shown as having a long and continuing involvement in solving problems common to all governments?** Mechanisms such as the distribution of wealth, decision-making, and rights and responsibilities are universal.

8. **Are diverse models of Indigenous governments explained as appropriate and valid in time and place?** Some works relegate these to a seemingly unsophisticated, distant past.

9. **Is the economic life of Indigenous peoples described as varied over time and place?** It should be apparent that traditional modes of livelihood persist into our time, and involve contemporary economic activities.

10. **Does the concept of non-ownership of land by private individuals appear without further explanation?** Relationships to the land should be explained as part of a world order where collective ownership over private property has remained a viable option.

11. **Is information about varied and flourishing lifestyles in pre-contact America given?** Some images erroneously portray a vast and sparsely populated wilderness.

12. **Are various origin theories examined?** The Bering Strait theory is one theory that new research and oral history challenges.

13. **Is the concept of conservation in the Indigenous economic world view depicted as under-utilization of resources?** The notion of an unimaginative approach to industry permeates some writings.

_____ 14. **Are Indigenous peoples shown as having created societal structures based on meaningful ideology?** A sense of chance and random development is implied where writers do not present an understanding of the spiritual and societal aspects of, for example, the pow-wow, the potlatch, and the vision quest.

_____ 15. **Is the concept of treaty implementation as an ongoing multi-faceted process fully represented?** Writers may fail to acknowledge the complexity of treaty implementation and, thus, over-subscribe to concepts of racism or cultural differences.

Use of Language

Language is an integral part of any culture and reflects a society's attitudes and thinking. Students learn values, skills and knowledge, and communicate their viewpoints and understandings largely through language. It is not only what is said or left unsaid about a people, but how language is used in reference to them that influences their perceptions. Aspects of tense, voice, and choice of words shape the images of a people. Some questions to ask regarding the use of language are:

_____ 1. **Is the active voice used to portray people's involvement in issues and events that should matter to them?** The passive voice distorts understandings about a continuing commitment to cultural survival.

_____ 2. **Are Indigenous peoples' perspectives and voices heard in written histories?** Failure to include the distinct voices of peoples regarding their historical past trivializes significant aspects of that history.

_____ 3. **Does the language avoid making needless distinctions between "them" and "us"?** It should be evident that all peoples are connected in time and place and, by extension, share universal experiences.

_____ 4. **Does the dialogue portray the articulate speaking skills of the peoples with an oral tradition?** Superficial translations, word-by-word, often result in odd sounding expressions which may suggest imprecision and lack of development of the original language.

_____ 5. **Are Indian and Métis names and languages used accurately and respectfully?** Direct translation of names without reference to their true meaning within the culture can seem trite and even foolish.

_____ 6. **Does the resource avoid language that stereotypes Indian and Métis peoples?** Words such as "primitive," "warlike," "hostile," "sullen," and "uncivilized" are sometimes used in ways to suggest these are characteristics of a particular group of people.

_____ 7. **Does use of the term "prehistory" imply that history and record-keeping began only with European writing?** Many forms of history such as oral history and other graphics predate European written records.

_____ 8. **Are dialects portrayed as substandard language?** Dialects are a valid form of expression that should be represented accurately.

Use of Visuals

Learning occurs as much through sight as through language. Illustrations, photos, artwork, outer packaging, and other visual graphics are a vital part of quality resources. They assist students in forming a realistic impression of peoples and their lifestyles.

_____ 1. **Do the illustrations accurately reflect individuals and groups?** Clothing suitable to the time period, nation, and occasion should be meaningfully connected to the text.

_____ 2. **Are people shown expressing a wide range of human emotions?** The fact that everyone feels joy, anger, sadness or affection at various times should be evident.

_____ 3. **Does the resource juxtapose traditional objects and clothing of diverse nations and cultures outside their proper settings?** Visuals should always support the reader's understanding, for example, the tipis of the plains would not normally have west coast totem poles standing beside them.

_____ 4. **Are people shown to be involved in various social and economic situations, occupations, and professions?** The people should be shown interacting with their environments in a wide range of activities.

_____ 5. **Do the visuals portray the people as looking alike or having a single skin tone?** Varied facial features, colour, and body types would more fully display diversity and individuality.

_____ 6. **Are Indigenous peoples shown in historical settings involved in cultural activities that are appropriate?** Sometimes the actions depicted do not match the behaviours expected. For example, playing lacrosse in full regalia would be inappropriate.

_____ 7. **Do the visuals show the people only in the past, or as cartoon figures, or animals?** Visuals of Indian and Métis peoples sometimes lock them in the past, or present them in dehumanized forms.

_____ 8. **Are children shown "playing Indian" or dressing as "Indians" for Halloween?** Cultural groups should be depicted in realistic and positive ways.

_____ 9. **Is appropriation of Indian and Métis terms and images for commodities and mascots avoided?** There is a growing recognition and acceptance that integrity of identity must be safeguarded through copyright and licensing laws for institutions, cultures, and personages.

Literature

The notion that there is one lifestyle or culture against which all others are compared negatively finds expression in a variety of ways. For example, humour varies from culture to culture and may be interpreted differently by individuals. Humour is positive or negative in relation to particular contexts. In analysing literature, the following questions may be asked regarding the characters, the action, the setting, authorship, and genre.

_____ 1. **Are positive and personal attributes, such as resourcefulness in solving problems and ability to assume leadership roles distributed across a range of cultures, ages, and genders?** All peoples should be seen as active decision-makers.

_____ 2. **Are Indigenous protagonists portrayed as positive and successful without necessarily adopting mainstream values and beliefs?** Having good health, a comfortable lifestyle, and self-reliance can also be a measuring stick of prosperity and happiness.

_____ 3. **Do active and passive roles, loyalties and ability to resolve conflict cut across aspects of culture, age, and gender?** Within the full range of human attitudes and actions there are few, if any, reliable predictors of individual behaviour.

_____ 4. **Is the potential for happiness, dignity, and commitment to one's environment shown as possible across a broad range of socio-economic conditions?** For example, it is rarely a given that everyone needs to live and work in a city.

_____ 5. **Does the resource recognize that the concept of "classic literature" applies to any story, oral or written, that a people deem historically and culturally significant?** A classic is universally recognized as a work that has passed the test of time; it is not bound to any one culture.

_____ 6. **Is there a balance of male and female authors from a variety of cultures?** Contemporary works particularly should represent both genders.

_____ 7. **Does the author's background and experience ensure accuracy of cultural perspectives?** Even award winning authors and resources may present erroneous assumption as fact, having failed to "read" the culture accurately.

Oral Literature

The oral literature of Indigenous peoples encompasses stories, songs, poems, and personal historical narrative. Although each form has a particular societal relevance, each preserves a nation's cultural story. Many stories, for example, serve as metaphors for history and simultaneously convey a community's values and beliefs. Stories tend to centre on the origin of the world and its associated mythical beings. These stories often feature a spiritual intermediary who is both honest and deceitful, clever and ignorant, lazy and industrious, cooperative and an instigator of chaos. These mythical heroes known among the diverse Indian nations as Wesakechak, Gluscap, Napi, Inktomi, Nanabush, Raven, Coyote, and others teach history, values, and beliefs that are integral to strong interdependent communities. Some anthologies feature "Indian legends" that are more appropriately designated "myth", although neither "legend" nor "myth" adequately defines the nature of these stories.

In addition to the above form, four other sacred story types have been delineated:

- stories describing the origins of sacred objects and ceremonies;
- stories explaining the procedures for ceremonies;
- stories told expressly for entertainment and enjoyment; and,
- stories exploring aspects of the environment.

(Adapted from S. Farrell Racette's unpublished manuscript *Oral Literature*, SUNTEP Regina, 1989)

When using Indian and Métis oral literature in the classroom, it is important to consider the following:

_____ 1. **Does the work offer guidance concerning protocols that may be implied in the literature?** Many stories, but in particular the sacred stories, are told only during the winter months, a time of reflection.

_____ 2. **Does the work present appropriated songs without telling how these may be used?** Although some literature does contain songs, it is inappropriate to publicly share such songs outside of their related ceremonies.

_____ 3. **Are readers made aware that authentic versions of a story may differ from current ones, and why?** When choosing a work, the authenticity of the story is paramount. Some early collections were appropriated by archaeologists and anthropologists, and revised or mistranslated. Many versions have a decidedly Eurocentric and contemporary adaptation of plot, dialogue, and theme. It is important to choose works that are written by authors who have been permitted by recognized Elders to publish the story.

_____ 4. **Are the sources of traditional stories valid?** Aside from published texts, a valid source of traditional stories are Elders who are acknowledged for their storytelling.

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